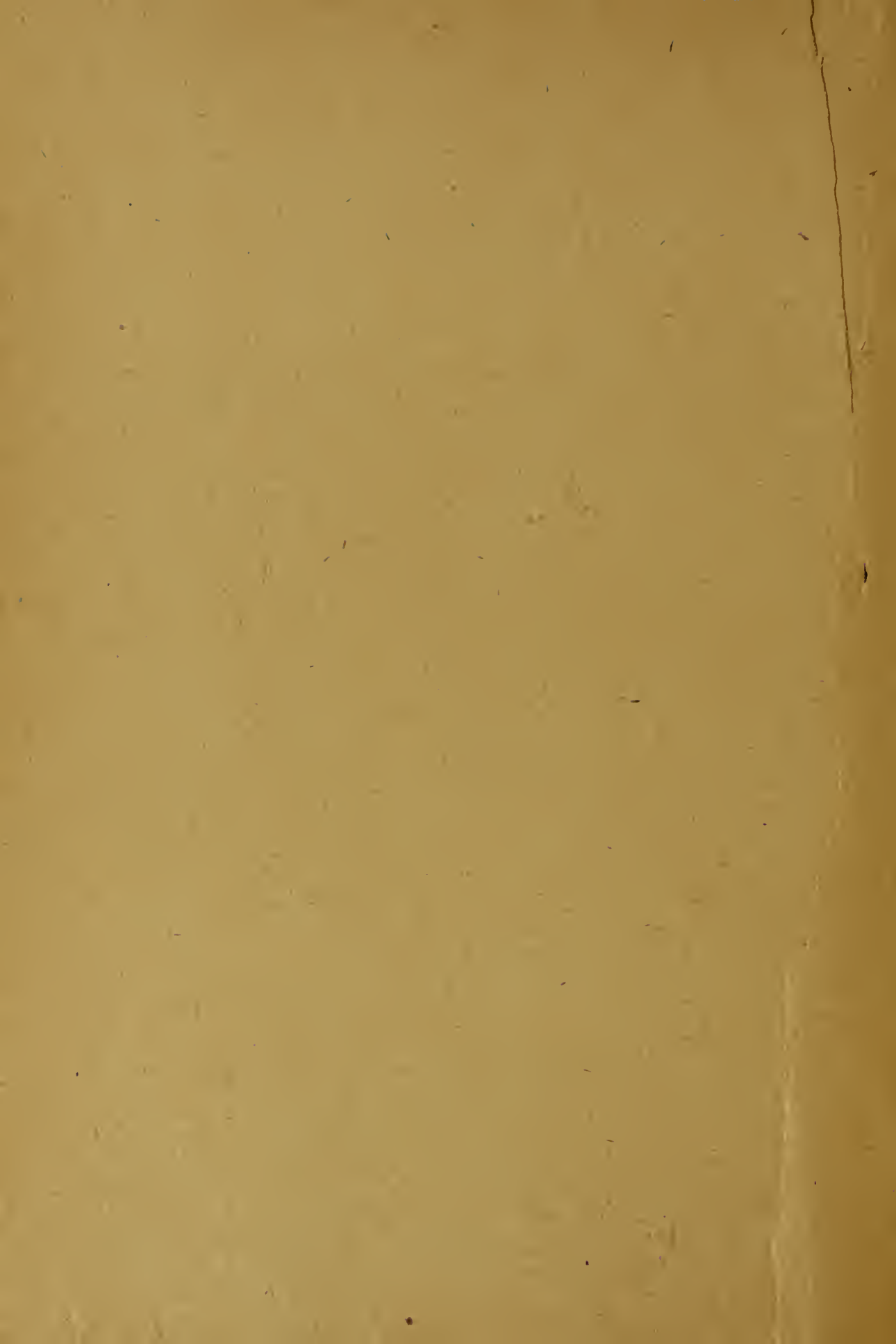


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THEORIES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE
FAUSTBUCH OF 1587

BY

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY Edith Marie Emmerson

ENTITLED Theories concerning the Origin
of the Faustbuch of 1587.

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INTRODUCTION.

As long as scholars have such vast fields for almost unlimited research, they will continue to advance different opinions on scholastic questions. In fact, the zest would be taken away from study, investigation and research, if scholars agreed. Interest is mainly kept alive by that striving to surpass another, to set forth some idea, which has never been advanced, or to add something to what has already been attempted.

Such is the case as regards the theories concerning the origin of the Faustbuch of 1587. This is a question, at which scholars have worked for the last fifty years, and which is far from being settled as yet. Not only what is the origin of the Faustbuch, but also, what is its purpose. Roughly speaking, two classifications of theories are possible - theories based on the Renaissance spirit; and theories based on Neo-Platonism, which, as a philosophical doctrine, had been revived in practically all circles at this time.

Speaking from the point of view of those who hold the first theory, what is seen in the Faustbuch is "the popular Protestant theology of the Reformation period expressing itself upon the great intellectual movement of the Renaissance; upon the new spirit of free inquiry, of revolt against narrow traditions, of delight in ancient ideals of beauty. Faust is a representative of this spirit. It might seem at first as if there were but little likeness between him and the

great humanists, but there are two traits which connect him with them, namely his interest in secular science and his love of antique beauty. The lovely pagan, Helena, as well as physics and astronomy, is one of the devil's tools for entrapping the soul of Faust. In this connection it is noteworthy that a very early tradition connects Faust with the University of Erfurt, then the great seat of German humanism.¹ According to those who advance the Renaissance theory, Faust is then the genuine colleague of the humanists.

The Neo-Platonic theory is somewhat more difficult and does not present such a smooth outer surface. According to this theory, the Faustbuch is a product of that opposition in the church to Neo-Platonic philosophy, which seems to have started soon after Luther's death. "The success of the Faustbuch was due, no doubt, to the choice of its subject, at a time when everybody believed in magic, when scholars were speculating on the mysteries of the '*magia naturalis*' and practicing astrology and alchemy, and vagrant jugglers were prospering by the credulence of the superstitious masses. It is no wonder that such a fellow as Faust should turn to practical account his knowledge of *magia naturalis*."²

If it can be proved that the Faustbuch is a product of the opposition in the church to Neo-Platonic philosophy, then the whole Renaissance theory collapses. The advocates of this theory seem to have in their minds a preconceived idea of Faust and an idealized picture of the Renaissance. They take Goethe's Faust - that superhuman - and work back, instead of studying the political, social and religious conditions of the sixteenth century and determining how the Faustbuch is an outgrowth of its own time.

I shall first attempt to show something of the popularity, which the Faustbuch enjoyed, by giving a brief history of its publication and its various

1. Thomas, Calvin: Introduction to Goethe's Faust, Part I, p. 15.

2. Goebel, Julius: Introduction to Goethe's Faust, Part I, p. 23.

editions. Then, I hope to summarize the most important theories advanced in the last half-century by those scholars who view the Faustbuch as a product of the Renaissance. Lastly, I shall devote as much time as possible to the Neo-Platonic theory. I shall try to show something of the relation of Neo-Platonic philosophy to the Faustbuch by pointing out its influence on Faust's best known contemporaries.

History of the Publication of the Faustbuch

The oldest Faustbuch appeared in 1587 at Frankfurt-am-Main, printed by a certain Johann Spiess. The dedication, written by Spiess, bears the date, September 4, 1587. The title of the book runs: "Historia voh Dr. Johann Fausten dem weitbeschreiten Zauberer und Schwarzkünstler, wie er sich gegen dem Teufel auf eine benannte Zeit verschrieben, was er hierzwischen für seltsame Abenteuer gesehen, selbst angerichtet und getrieben, bis er endlich seinen wohl verdienten Lohn empfangen. Mehrerteils aus seinen eigenen hinterlassenen Schriften, allen hochtragenden, fürwitzigen und gottlosen Menschen zum schrecklichen Beispiel, abscheulichen Exempel und treuherziger Warnung zusammen gezogen und in Druck verfertiget. Gedruckt zu Frankfurt-am-Main durch Johann Spiess, 1587."

As far as we know, this first edition of 1587 has come down to us in only two manuscripts, which are to be found in the Stadtbibliothek at Ulm and in the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel.

For a time the Faust narrative proved very popular and new editions and translations came out in rapid succession. The year after the appearance of the first Faustbuch, 1588, a new edition became indispensable; a year later, 1589, another edition came out. Both were unchanged reprints of the first. In 1591 appeared an enlarged edition, which was reprinted in the following year. The story of Faust's ride on the cask and four tales of his pranks in Erfurt were added.

The Faustbuch of 1587 experienced a poetical treatment soon after its first appearance. At Easter, 1588, this rhymed version came from the press of Hock at Tübingen. There is only a single copy of this preserved, which is in the royal library at Copenhagen.

The Faustbuch also went to Niederdeutschland. A low German translation appeared in 1588, and in the same year also a Danish translation. An English translation followed the first German edition immediately - "the History of the damnable Life and deserved Death of Dr. John Faustus" - without date, printed in the third volume of Thoms' collection of early prose romances. A continuation of this English Faustbuch appeared in 1594 - it seems to have been a purely English imitation without specific meaning. In 1592 the first edition of the Dutch translation appeared at Emmerich. In 1598 the first French edition, by Petrus Victor Palma Cayet or Cajetanus, appeared.

While the Faustbuch of 1587 was being spread through England, Denmark, Holland and France in various translations, it was supplanted in Germany by another work, not nearly so good - that of Widmann, which appeared in 1599 at Hamburg. He has attempted to give to the whole a more historical appearance. But assuredly he added no improvements to the Faustbuch of 1587. He has destroyed the fresh tone and character of the first book by pedantic prosiness. A new revision of the Widmann Faustbuch appeared seventy-five years later in the year 1674 - written by a physician at Nürnberg, named Pfitzer. Pfitzer gives Widmann's story again, with insignificant changes. A shorter, clearer and more popular revision of Pfitzer's book is that book known under the name "Von einem Christlich Meinenden". It appeared in 1725. Editions were printed at Frankfurt and Leipzig.

The oldest Faustbuch came to England, as I have said above, and that fact was of much importance for the further development of the material, its dramatization, with which is associated the great name of Marlowe. Marlowe wrote

his Dr. Faustus in 1589, probably on the basis of an English translation, which appeared sometime before February, 1589. The play follows the Faustbuch closely in spirit and in details. It makes the compact with the devil the central point of the play. After Marlowe's death the play was much changed to suit the popular taste. It was taken to Germany by English actors. Records show that such a performance was given at Dresden in 1626. Very soon it was taken up by German actors. The play gradually sank to the level of a farce. No text of such a play is extant to-day. Goethe undoubtedly knew the puppet-play into which the farce degenerated, for there is a record that such a "Machine Comedy" was given at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1767. There is no proof that Goethe was acquainted with the older Faust books of Spiess, Widmann, Pfitzer and "Von einem christlichen Meinenden", when he first set to work on his Faust. But it is extremely interesting to trace the history of the Faust material down to the puppet show, which first suggested to Goethe the subject of a work destined to make him one of the literary lights of the world.

THEORIES.

(a) Düntzer¹

Düntzer is the first of the modern investigators of the Faust problem. He regards the Volksbuch as a collection of a mass of sagas, all of which revolve about the point of raising one's self, by means of an alliance with the devil, to power over the physical and spiritual world. Many stories, which the Volksbuch tells of its Faust, are reported of other men, who appeared to the people as "gewaltige Geister". Thus Düntzer thinks that the Faustsaga is to be explained by its analogy to other "Zaubersagen". "Derjenige, welcher das "älteste Faustbuch vermehrte, schöpfte sie aus der Überlieferung oder aus einer besondern handschriftlichen Darstellung von Fausts Treiben zu Erfurt. Ohne Zweifel liefen viele einzelne Berichte über Faust in Deutschland um, aus welchen das Faustbuch grösstenteils zusammengesetzt ward."² This quotation seems to me to sum up all Düntzer has to say. The remainder of his article treats of Faust's adventures, all of which have been discussed by later commentators more briefly, and which I shall take up under those men.

1. Düntzer: Scheibles Kloster, Bd. V (1847),
Die Sage von Doktor Johannes Faust, S. 1-260.

2. Ibid. S. 83.

Düntzer, in an article published in 1890, discussing the ideas of Erich Schmidt, says: "sie zerfalle in sich, wenn man sie genau betrachte und mit den Tatsachen vergleiche, auf welche sie sich stützen sollten."¹

(b) Schade²

Schade looks upon the Faustbuch as a group of stories collected around a historical character, who has gradually lost his own personality. These stories are based on ancient pagan beliefs and German myths, or are transferred from other stories such as Simon Magus. He sees no Catholic tendencies in the saga.

If one believed, Schade remarks, that all paganism among us has been blotted out, he would be guilty of a grave mistake. Pagan customs were gradually exchanged for Christian without being blotted out and without losing so much of their nature, that one could not recognize in them their old features. The fifteenth century holds a peculiar place in history as being the time when that belief in the "Teufelsbunde" arose, out of which grew those terrible persecutions of the witches, that awful stain on Christianity, the like of which paganism never dared commit. In the superstitions of the people, "Hexenbündnisse" have always existed. The devil is represented as the head and leader of the witches. He, personified, is the sum total of all evil in nature opposed to the sum total of all good. This duality is common to Indian, Greek and German mythology. While the remembrance of the old pagan gods was gradually disappearing, many of their symbols, their forms, and much else connected with them, were just as gradually transferred to the Christian devil. As heathen gods were accustomed to mix with people, so the devil. It was he who served in the house as Kobold. The oldest story of an alliance with the devil is that of Theophilus. It has some of the features of the Faustsaga - that longing to solve the most secret problems of

1. Milchsack: Historia D. Johannis Faustus, S. CCCXXIII.

2. Schade, Oskar: Faust vom Ursprung bis zur Verklärung durch Goethe. (1856)
Herausg. von Rudolf Schade, 1912.

nature and life - but, in the Theophilus saga, it is money and possessions which are desired.

The study of natural sciences brought about the belief that scholars were in alliance with the devil. It was the devil who opened up the treasures of knowledge and disclosed the secrets of nature to them. The hero of the Faustsaga is a scholar, a discoverer, a thinker. The Faustsaga is strictly Protestant. Critics have tried to find Catholic tendencies in it - for instance, they have thought that the fact that Faust lived in Wittenberg might be aimed at Luther. But what is more natural than that he should live at the seat of Protestant learning? Faust's death is in strict accordance with the stern beliefs of the Protestants. Were the saga Catholic, the Holy Virgin would have been introduced to save him at the last hour.

Two circumstances, Schade thinks, are responsible for the spread and duration of the Faustsaga. In the first place, many of the stories of Faust's deeds and experiences are only German god- and elf-myths, clothed in such a way that people do not recognize them. Secondly, the theological-philosophical character of the saga - questions as to the divine system of the universe, personified evil, the freedom of man, the immortality of the soul, were touched upon. Schade says that the Faustsaga is a genuine German saga, a witness of the German spirit. It has a broad range, it goes back to antiquity and also touches on problems which interest us to-day.

How and when did the Faustsaga originate? What relation does it bear to the name? Is the hero fictitious or historical? And if historical, what do we know of him. For answering such questions we have only the written accounts of contemporaries - Trithemius, Mutianus, Begardus, Gast, Melanchthon, Wier and Camerarius.

The author of the Faustbuch was from Speyer and without question was a scholar. He was evidently a Protestant, if not also a preacher. His countless attacks

against Catholicism show this, He wrote with the outspoken purpose of warning people from impulses like Faust's. He compiled his book from Faust's autobiography and from a biography written by Wagner, from the accounts of Faust's contemporaries, and from oral tradition. The author is quite conscious of his motive: "Wer hochsteigen will, der fällt auch hoch herab".

(c) Grimm.¹

Grimm believes that there were several persons whose first name or surname was Faust and that the characteristic traits of these various Fausts contributed to the personality of the Dr. Faust of the Volksbuch.

Grimm names as the first, Georg Faust. This Faust, according to Trithemius, abbot of Sponheim, appeared in 1506. Trithemius considered him a swindler. He was in the employ of Franz von Sickingen for a time. He was recognized by the Clergy of Speyer and Erfurt. Mutianus, Melanchthon and Erasmus all attach a certain importance to him. Trithemius reports of an Italian - named Johannes - who appeared in 1501 at the court of the king of France and who called himself "philosophus philosophorum". Perhaps the name of Johannes was transferred to Faust from this source.

The Manichæan bishop, Faust, offers further analogy with Dr. Faust of the Volksbuch. In his "Confessions" we learn of St. Augustine's experiences with the Manichæan doctrine and of his meeting with the bishop. The author of the Volksbuch may have had the "Confessions" before him, when he was writing, for here we seem to find the source for the attempted conversion of Faust. Manichæanism represents the Aristotelian doctrine of the eternity of matter, how the world was never created and can never be destroyed. This same idea is found in the Faustbuch - "Die Welt ist unerboren und unsterblich." "Teufel, du leugst, Gottes Wort lehrt anders" - shows Augustine's change of attitude when he repudiated the

1. Grimm: Fünfzehn Essays, Die Entstehung des Volksbuch von Dr. Faust (1882)
S. 192-219.

Manichaeian doctrine.

As the third bearer of the name, Grimm cites an Italian, Faustus Andrelinus, the place of whose life and work was Paris. Before the spread of Protestant theology into Germany, France had been the seat of liberal theological movements. Students of all lands came together in Paris. Among the young teaches was Faustus Andrelinus, called Faustus for short. Perhaps here is the origin of Faust's eroticism, for we have a letter of Erasmus addressed to Faustus Andrelinus, inviting him to come to England where there were plenty of pretty girls.

(d) Schmidt¹

The very title of Schmidt's article, "Faust und das sechzehnte Jahrhundert" leaves us no room to doubt the trend of his arguments. Schmidt considers Faust an essentially modern character, standing at the end of the middle ages and at the beginning of modern times. He is typical of the Renaissance spirit fighting the bonds of narrow scholasticism. Schmidt thinks it possible, too, that the author of the Faustbuch may have wished to oppose to the Reformer an Anti-Luther.

Faust belongs to modern times. He breaks the bonds of the middle ages and escapes from the school of scholasticism and monkery. Through the study of mathematics and philosophy the feeling of self-assurance was nourished and heightened. Astronomy, followed by astrology, let the human spirit stray to the firmament and investigate the heavens.

This was an age of discovery. The clothing of the middle ages was felt to be too narrow. The feeling of self-valuation increased daily: "Vieles Gewaltige lebt, doch nichts ist gewaltiger als der Mensch". The subjective raised itself with full power, man became a spiritual individual and was recognized as such. The scholar raised his head, he stepped from his narrow environment, as eager for the immortalization of his name as the statesman, the poet, or the artist - not,

1. Schmidt: Charakteristiken (Berlin 1886), Faust und das sechzehnte Jahrhundert, S. 1-37.

however, from idle desire for glory.

What the mediaeval clergy had condemned, the Renaissance defended, "Cultus der Weltschönheit". Faust's desire to see and enjoy the beauty of Greek mythology is genuinely humanistic. The poetry, the painting of the time, serve as testimony to the fact that people felt the "faustische Pein". "Freiheit erwacht in jeder Brust." Without the background of Protestantism, the Faust of the sixteenth century is not to be understood. From the liberation of the desire of investigation through the spiritual power of the time, arose the symbolistic figure of the titanic investigator, Faust. The Lutheran tendency of the Faustbuch must be taken into consideration, too. Faust and Luther are two opposite representatives of this century.

People attributed wonderful powers to such men as Trithemius and Agrippa von Nettesheim, and looked upon higher learning as something superhuman and uncanny. Paracelsus, a contemporary of Faust, a representative of medical chemistry, fell under the suspicions of the people, also.

Erich Schmidt does not believe that there were two Fausts. He points to a possible source of the name, "Sabellicus", which, though interesting, points to nothing. During the Renaissance names were latinized. "Sabellicus" can mean "sabellisch" or "sabinisch" and refer to the magic of the ancient Sabines. The name in Latin means "der Glückliche". Sabellicus is also the name of an ancient physician, who performed wonderful cures. There was a Venetian historian and poet - M. A. Sabellico - who was well known to the Germans. We meet with references to this Sabellicus in Luther and Widmann. Lessing mentions him in his Faust notes. Can these facts have any bearing on Faust's reason for calling himself Georg Sabellicus?

The moralization, the Biblical examples, the appeals to Paul and Luther, the never fulfilled promise to imitate the Latin model, and before everything else, the spirit of the history itself, speak for a Lutheran pastor of pronounced

views as the author. Oral tradition which grew from year to year, rather than written material, had been his source. The author often repeats practically the same thing in several chapters in slightly different settings. He was no master of style, for the whole is burdened with repetition, unnecessary observations and sermons. The author, without a vein of sympathy, without a drop of "faustisches Blut" in his body, is incapable of feeling how Faust can throw himself into the arms of "Forschertitanismus". The reader, of course, is to see the irresolute Faust, like Macbeth, so deep in sin that he can't retrace his steps to the shore.

(e) Scherer.¹

Scherer stresses the fact that Faust is the opposite of Luther in every respect and leaves us to draw our own conclusions. He lays a great deal of emphasis on the disorderly manner in which the unknown author put together the different Faust stories.

In the sixteenth century most people believed in magic. Even such enlightened humanists as Melanchthon and Luther firmly believed in it. Then, of course, people believed in the magic tricks of Faust. A cycle of anecdotes accordingly originated about him, the oldest of which are quite harmless.

The oldest Faustbuch originated in the Upper Rhine district. The editor, Johann Spiess, says that the manuscript was sent to him by a good friend from Speyer. Whoever this unknown author may have been, at least, he was no artist. He tells the stories badly, invents nothing. At most he transfers the stories of other magicians to Faust. No one can tell how far he worked with oral tradition. His material consisted of single anecdotes which he edited imperfectly. We find contradictions, duplicated stories, interpolations, transitions, almost nowhere a uniform conception. The author has recorded the stories singly as

1. Scherer: Deutsche Drucke älterer Zeit, Bd. II (1884)
Vorrede zum Faksimile des Faustbuches, S. 5-35.

they came to him and then pieced them together. Such stories originated from very different sources and there could be a very different history behind each one.

According to sixteenth century ideas Faust's acts are sins. He falls from God - this fall is compared with that of the Titans and Lucifer. Faust is a "Weltmensch". As Luther represents the ideal of a sixteenth century theologian, so Faust represents his opposite. Luther believes, Faust doubts in everlasting blessedness. Luther reverences the Holy Scriptures; Faust has placed them behind the door for a while. Luther extols marriage and enters into it; Faust lets himself be deterred from it by the devil. Luther mistrusts reason; Faust places implicit faith in it. Luther fights victoriously with the devil; Faust succumbs to him. Luther struggles against the Pope with the pathos of belief; Faust torments the Pope and rejoices over his powerlessness. Both have been in Rome - Luther full of reverence, and Faust agreeably surprised that the priests there are much worse than he himself. Both came from the same beginning to opposite ends; both are doctors of theology. This contradiction in characters is not consciously worked out, yet it necessarily comes out of the very nature of the thing, as soon as Faust is considered a "Weltmensch" and "Naturforscher" in opposition to a rightly believing theologian.

(f) Ellinger.¹

In the first of these articles written by Ellinger, which I shall attempt to review, he points out certain geographical sources of the Faustbuch. His second article shows distinctly Scherer's influence. It is for the most part a criticism of the unknown author and his method of compilation.

To the author of the Faustbuch the collected material did not seem sufficient for a book, so he set about supplementing it. The manner in which he did that is characteristic of the man's lack of talent. He copied from handbooks a series of cities and fitted them into the recital. We may assuredly admit this same fact in regard to the astrological and scientific cuttings in the Faustbuch, too. He had three sources for his description of non-German cities - Münster's *Mappa Europae*, Münster's *Cosmographie*, and a third source, which cannot be directly proved, but the traces of which are discernible in the topographical handbooks of the sixteenth century, Sebastian Frank in his "Weltbuch" and Matthis Quad in his geographical handbook. The sources for the description of the German cities are somewhat more difficult. Ellinger, however, thinks that he can prove that the author copied these sources in the same manner. The direct sources cannot be found, but their traces are to be seen in the topographical literature of the century - Sauer, "Theatrum Urbium" and Jobst, "Aufzug aller Chroniken". If it can be proved that the topographical descriptions in the Faustbuch are from handbooks, then we are justified in concluding that the astrological and scientific lore owes its origin to like sources, although these sources are sometimes contradictory.

Three Faust traditions are to be distinguished - Upper Rhine, Wittenberg and

1. Ellinger: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* Neue Folge I (1887) zu den Quellen des Faustbuches von 1587, S. 156-181.

Ellinger: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Bd. XIX (1886-87)
Deutsche Drucke älterer Zeit, herausg. von W. Scherer, S. 244-249.

Erfurt. In the Wittenberg and Upper Rhine traditions Faust's character is openly disparaged; in the Erfurt tradition it is idealized. In the former, one sees in Faust only the magician; in the latter the typical representative of the spirit of humanism.

The author of the Spiessbuch got his material from the Upper Rhine and Wittenberg traditions. He had a string of anecdotes which he put together in a very lamentable manner. Since this material was not enough he copied from astrological and geographical books and "dished" up all kinds of physical and astrological wisdom. He used topographical figures in order to illustrate, in the plainest way, Faust's travels. He has done everything possible to let his readers know how he collected his material. He has lined up, one after another, stories which contradict each other. The stories, in which Faust's character appears in a nobler light, the author has worked into his recital, in his unbelieving, absurd way, pouring out his moral reflections over them. "Nahme an sich Adlers Flügel, wollte alle Grund am Himmel und Erden erforschen", and the comparison of Faust with the Titans and Lucifer so contradict the tone in which the book is composed, that one must assume that they crept in later, after the completion of the book. Thus it is quite possible, Ellinger thinks, that the author learned the Erfurt tradition later and stuck it in where he pleased.

(g) Szamatólski.¹

Szamatólski claims that Ellinger has overvalued the activity of the author, that he (the author) did not get his scientific knowledge from several sources, but from a single source. As such a book, Szamatólski points to Elucidarius. This source dates back several hundred years. The author of the Faustbuch probably knew the 1584 edition of Elucidarius, since this edition contains a "Himmelskarte", which earlier editions do not contain, but which is copied in the Faustbuch. The relation of the Faustbuch and Elucidarius as to form should also be taken into consideration. Elucidarius is in dialogue form, and the pupil is instructed by the master in such a manner as in the Faustbuch, Faust is instructed by Mephistopheles. Therefore one cannot go far afield in concluding that the form of Elucidarius is responsible to some degree for the plan of the Faustbuch.

(h) Milchsack.²

Milchsack does not believe that the Faustbuch has its origin in similar "Zaubersagen" of antiquity and the middle ages. He follows Ellinger in pointing out sources in contemporary literature. He shows that no Faustsaga of any extent at all, to compare with the common idea, existed. He proves that this book is an aggregation of cuttings from other books strung together on the thread of the Faust idea. The motive of the Faust story is the same as that which has been the motive of other such stories - the loss of the soul by means of barter between two elements, learning and happiness.

The material of the Faustbuch is new and peculiar to its age, and in keeping with the spirit of the time. It was a time when new ideas were advanced and the individual was valued for himself. Interest in classic antiquity was revived -

1. Szamatólski: Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte, Vol. I (1888)
zu den Quellen des ältesten Faustbuchs, S. 161-183.

2. Milchsack: Historia D. Johannis Fausti des Zauberers nach dem Wolfenbüttel
Handschrift (1892) S. 7-394.

"Das wiedererstandene klassische Altertum, von der Buchdruckerkunst in glänzendem Siegeslauf durch die mitteleuropäischen Länder geleitet, hatte den Geist der Menschen wie aus einem tiefen Schlummer erweckt..... Eine solche Epoche nun, in der das zum Bewusstsein seines Rechtes und seiner Kraft aufgerufene Volk seinen Anteil an den himmlischen und irdischen Gütern sich errungen hatte." So much for the spirit of the Faustbuch as Milchsack sees it.

As for direct literary sources, in addition to those cited by Ellinger and Szamatólski, Milchsack points out Schedel's "Chronik". He says that chapters 24, 25, 26 and 27 are from this source. Therefore, the author may have drawn from older literature for many other parts of his book. No one would suppose that he had taken any scientific or theological questions from Schedel's "Chronik", yet such is the case in at least two places - "Von des Himmels Lauf, Zier und Ursprung" and "Von der Ewigkeit der Welt". It is surprising, indeed, to see spread out before our eyes the material from which so many chapters of the Faustbuch have been taken.

As an indirect source, Milchsack cites Processus Belial by a Dominican, Jacobus de Theramo. It is one of the most wonderful pictures of the mediaeval scholastic spirit. The author of the Faustbuch has used a part of it, word for word, in the disputation regarding the power of the devil. In a much looser relation than Belial with the Faustbuch stands "Cordiale de quatuor novissimis et de particulari iudicio et de obitu singulorum" by the learned Dutch prior, Dionysius van Leeuwen. He wrote on death, on the punishments in Hell, on the judgment day, and on the joys of the blessed. A few cuttings from his "Hollenstrafe" are to be traced in the Faustbuch.

As the third and most important indirect source, there is the "Zauberteufel" of Ludovicus Milichius. It belongs to that group of thirty-two writings, which grew out of a few maxims in the New Testament and from Luther's teachings concerning the devil, and which were treated by Protestant preachers in a half

scholarly, half popular way and printed in 1587 by the Frankfurt bookseller, Sigmund Feyrabend, in "Theatri Diabolorum". "Zauberteufel" was a successful and much read book. The author of the Faustbuch knew and used it, not only because he found in it what he wanted for his purpose, but also because he was assured of the impression which it would make among his readers. "Zauberteufel" unmistakably shows the standpoint of the Lutheran preacher. Milichius was probably a protestant theologian as were all writers of "Teufelsliteratur". Everything in this book is taken from the writings of the church fathers and mediaeval scholars. There are two main questions discussed in "Zauberteufel" - "Was Zauberei sei und wie mannigfaltig sie sei?" We of modern times are not in a position to believe all this; we think of it as an empty show of the imagination. Weyer and Lercheimer, more enlightened men, did not claim that there were no witches and magicians, for that was a recognized teaching of the church founded on history and on maxims of both Testaments, of Lutheran as well as of Catholic churches. What they fought was the credulity and lack of understanding, the wickedness and self-interest. "Was das wundersüchtige Volk auf natürliche Weise nicht sogleich zu erklären vermochte, das musste auf übernatürliche Weise bewirkt worden sein." Magicians and jugglers were shut out of church circles because they performed their tricks with the help of evil spirits.

Such a book as "Zauberteufel" was very important for the author of the Faustbuch. The preface to the Wolfenbüttel manuscript rests entirely on the "Zauberteufel" of Milichius. In the fourth chapter of his book Milichius discusses the origin of magic. He does not contradict Pliny who says that magic has its origin in medicine and astronomy. Paul calls magic a work of the flesh, by which he means that it was born in us and inherited from our first parents. Since the time of Noah man has never ceased studying philosophy, investigating the strength of herbs, the course of the heavens, the influence of the stars, the nature of animals, the property of water and wind, and whatever there is in

nature to be discovered. People have considered those, who have found something new, as gods.

In the preface to the Wolfenbüttel manuscript the sentences have a somewhat different order than in "Zauberteufel", but one can see without much difficulty that they are taken from it, and that where they are not taken over word for word, the thought is reproduced in a shortened form. There are only three parts of this preface, which do not come from "Zauberteufel": the saga of Alexander VI, the stories of Zoroaster and of the snake-conjurer. From all this it is to be understood that the author of the Faustbuch not only knew and used the "Zauberteufel", but had studied it carefully and appropriated from it sentences which especially appealed to him. He also liked to weave in Bible verses, maxims and fragments of history.

All magic was called in Latin "magia" and the magicians, "magi". One practices magic either to help or harm. According to Milichius all works of magic come directly from the devil. He thinks the devil is without substance. This lack of substance lets the devil do things, which appear supernatural, although in reality, they are done in quite a natural way. The same motives brought magic into the world as brought about Faust's break with theology: "Fürwitz und Leichtfertigkeit, Übermut, Stolz, Hochmut, Vermessenheit und Verwägenheit, alle Gründe Himmels und der Erde ausforschen zu wollen."

In conclusion of this chapter, Milchaack states that the author of the Faustbuch undoubtedly gained his knowledge about the origin, kind and extent of magic completely from "Zauberteufel", the explanation of which he took up word for word in his preface of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript. He modelled Faust after the prototype of all magicians, Simon Magus. Since the author gained only a one-sided view of magic from Zauberteufel, he naturally looked upon all magic as evil and saw in Faust only the magician of the lower type.

The "Tendenz" of the Volksbuch. The formulation of the "Tendenz" of the Faustbuch belongs to the most difficult of the problems of modern scholars of German literature. The idea through the Faust material seems to be an age striving for spiritual freedom, represented in the person of the theologian Faust, led astray by his thirst for knowledge, and as blasphemer and magician losing his earthly and eternal salvation. It is to be explained out of itself, from the political, religious and social conditions of its time. This is an entirely new way of attempting the explanation of the Faustbuch. Milchsack says that thus far whoever has attempted to study the sources of Goethe's Faust has seen in the Faustbuch nothing but the popular description of an unfortunate man, who with the help of the devil, has overstepped the bounds of human knowledge, has lost eternal salvation as a penalty, and has suffered a horrible death. In conclusion, Milchsack says of Faust theories that one stands opposed to the other, and after all the labor of investigation, really nothing is gained.

(i) Zarncke.¹

Zarncke calls the Faustbuch a product of a strict Lutheran spirit. He says that Erich Schmidt is on the right "track". He had hoped to find out something about the author in his investigation of the press of Johann Spiess, but failed. The investigation of the sources of the Faustbuch must be taken hold of and can only be solved by someone who is exceedingly familiar with the common literature of the sixteenth century. Zarncke only repeats what is already known. As regards the biography of Faust, Zarncke has done by far the most, but that concerns us little here.

(j) Simrock.²

Simrock advances the view that the printer Johannes Fust is in someway connected with the origin of the Faustsaga. The desire for knowledge - "Wissendrang" - as a motive for entering into an alliance with the devil, Simrock says, reaches its culmination in the Faustsaga. The stories connected with Gerbert and Sylvester II go to prove that the Faustsaga could have originated in Catholic times and have been further developed by Protestantism. Since Faust is a later magician, he enters into the inheritance of all earlier magic and mythical stories from Greek and German god and hero sagas.

Gutenberg is the man, who is usually regarded as the inventor of printing. However, in Nicodemus Frischlin's "Julius Caesar Redivivus", not Gutenberg, but Faust, appears as the inventor of printing. According to "Harlemer Märchen", which insists on the Dutch origin of printing, the thief, who introduced it at Mainz, is said to have been Johannes Fust. Middle High German Fust is the New High German Faust. Printing was naturally ascribed to supernatural

1. Zarncke: Goetheschriften, Faustdichtung vor Goethe (1896) S. 258 ff.

2. Simrock: Faust - Das Volksbuch und das Puppenspiel (1903) S. 1-24.

influences, as was the case with anything new and hitherto unheard of. The Greeks and Germans attributed the invention of writing to the gods. Therefore, can it be strange if a magician should have invented printing? Since the invention of printing took away work from the monks, it was natural that they should ascribe magic powers to the inventor. A certain man, named Schaab, considered Fûst or Faust a magician, on account of the rate at which he printed the Bible. In order to save himself from death, he revealed his new art to the French Parlement. All that Simrock says is merely supposition.

The idea that the inventor of printing is behind the Faustsaga collapses, when we read the accounts of the historical juggler, Faust, written by such contemporaries as Melanchthon, Trithemius, Gast and Begardi. Trithemius, 1507, reports that Faust had sent his card to his (Trithemius's) friend, which bore the inscription : "Georgius Sabellicus, Faustus junior, fons necromanticorum, magus secundus, chiromanticus, agromanticus, in hydra arte secundus". Six years later, 1513, Mutianus Rufus writes that a certain Georgius Faustus was practicing the art of chiromancy. The next accounts, written by Begardi, 1539, and by Gast, 1543, give no first name. Begardi says of him: "hat auch selbst bekannt und nicht geleugnet, dass er sei und hiess Faustus". Gast was the first to mention one of those tricks which later appeared in the Faustbuch. Gast claims that he once took a meal with him in Basle. He suspected that the devil murdered him. In an account of Manlius, written in 1563, the name of Johannes first appears. This Faust was born at Kundling and had studied magic at Krakau, according to Manlius. In Venice he boasted that he could fly into the heavens. He was forced to flee from Nürnberg and Wittenberg. He was murdered in a Würtemberg village by the devil who accompanied him in the form of a dog. Weyer, 1568, in "De Praestigiis Daemomum" adds to the above accounts. Camerarius, 1602, again adds more to the story. He does not use the name of doctor, however. This title does not appear again until the Faustbuch of 1587. According to this

Volksbuch, Faust was born at Rhoda. But Lercheimer in "Christliche Bedenken von Zauberei", 1583, rightly has Knüttlingen as the birthplace of Faust.

(k) Witkowski.¹

The general tone of Witkowski's article resembles very closely that of Erich Schmidt's. He says: "Die Faustsage ist ein Erzeugnis der Reformationszeit, des neuen, individualistischen Zeit". The striving for personal freedom comes in conflict with the narrow and restrained ethics of the middle ages. The enthusiasm for the newly discovered splendour of the ancient world comes in conflict with the Christian "Weltanschauung", which considered earthly life only as a preparation for the higher existence the other side of the grave. It is the spirit of the Renaissance versus the dogmatic spirit of the Reformation. Even if the Faustbuch as a whole is something new, yet it has taken over much from antiquity, from Graeco-Roman mythology. There is also a certain relation of the Faustsaga to the old Jewish-Christian notions and myths. In all Oriental religions we find "ein böses in persönlicher Verkörperung" opposed to the good element.

The notion that it is possible to enter into an alliance with the devil and use the spirits for beneficial and wicked aims was transferred, together with the whole devil belief, to Christianity. The belief grew up that wicked spirits could be summoned through the same ceremonies, which were used to invoke angels for help. Such ceremonies for attaining and maintaining power over the spirits by means of magic were borrowed from the Jewish-Persian Cabala, the Neo-Platonic mysteries of Iamblichos, from Arabian mystics, and from Graeco-Roman myths. By no means is this magic forbidden, nor is it always harmful to the welfare of the soul. St. Augustine in his "De Civitate Dei" distinguishes a good and a bad, a

1. Witkowski: Goethes Faust - Kommentar und Erläuterungen, Zweiter Band, Faustsage und Faustdichtung vor Goethe (1903) S. 12-55.

white and a black magic. The conjuration of the elemental spirits is considered harmless. The service of the devil and of his subordinates is to be won only through an alliance, for which body and soul must be surrendered to the devil for everlasting possession.

The belief that supernatural power could be acquired by an alliance with the devil received a strong impetus at the end of the middle ages. With a distrustful eye, people looked at the learned, who studied the pagan writings of antiquity rather than the Bible and Christian writings. They thought that there was no other explanation for their acts than that they were trying to deduce from pagan sources undiscovered secrets of a supernatural kind. So it came about that through the Reformation the old belief in the devil was fanned to a forceful flame. The wandering scholars used this belief as a means for their own selfish aims. Belief in supernatural power was shared alike by people in all stations. On this ground, Witkowski claims, the Faustsaga has grown up.

Because Faust's death gave decided confirmation to the belief in the alliance with the devil, because he was the boldest among his contemporaries, because he continued his pursuit undisguised to the last, the saga has seized on his figure in preference to all others and heaped on him what has been transferred from ancient and mediaeval tricks and stories of magicians.

As for the development of the saga itself - it probably began to develop even in Faust's lifetime. In the course of thirty years the historical figure was completely wrapped in it. New stories were always being transferred to this magician. The knowledge that he had once lived gradually disappeared and only the typical features of his personality remained. Witkowski now does some clever guessing as to the actual origin of the first edition of 1587 published by Spiess. About 1570 a "Hausvater" in Nürnberg, for the entertainment of his family, put together all the Faust stories which were known to him. Such a

collection of these stories was supposedly at hand, when, about 1575, a writer of lower station hit upon the idea of putting together a Faustbuch. For more material he turned to the students, wrote up in their language, Latin, what had been spread by word of mouth and added to it other stories, in order to assure a warm reception for the book. This was translated into German and spread broadcast through the press, while the original Latin form was lost. So much is Witkowski's idea of the origin of the Faustbuch.

Although the author uses every opportunity to warn his readers with Biblical examples and the like, yet he takes great pleasure in Faust's adventures, the list of which he has increased by every possible means. What he does not gain from the saga itself he supplies from scientific and geographical literature, nor does he hesitate to borrow from Latin-German dictionaries and "Sprichwörter" collections. Witkowski seems to contradict himself when, after emphasizing the Renaissance spirit, he declares that, "Nahm an sich Adlers Flügel, wollte alle Gründ am Himmel und Erden erforschen", does not point to an ideal conception of Faust, but is just a symbol of human valuation. For the people of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, that time of superstition and persecution of witches, Faust's fate was a story of horrible reality.

(b) Petsch¹

Petsch shows the influence of his predecessors, especially of Witkowski, in his investigation of the Faust problems, but advances a step farther. He says that the belief in magic continued to live, like many other pagan remembrances in loose union with the Christian dogma. Everything mystical tends from the dogmatic to the pantheistic, to the union of God and nature, of God and the human soul; "Alles in einem, eines in allem". With the revival of Neo-Platonism the way to absolute paganism, on the one hand, was opened up; on the other, a tendency leading back to the most simple and pure form of existence. But mediaeval Christian dualism could not reconcile itself with that movement of the Renaissance, which sought to blend the philosophy of Neo-Platonism with the mysticism of the Cabala and with Chaldean and Arabian mysteries, in order to investigate all nature, to ascertain the fate of mortals, and to make the elemental world subjective to humans. This striving for a knowledge of the inner working of all nature led to a wild fanaticism, prepared the way for a wild libertinism of life and investigation. Astrology and alchemy spread from the Orient into Europe. But the goal of all this investigation was unscientific. Neo-Platonism offered enough and more than enough opportunity for mystical speculation and diabolical nonsense. "Die naturphilosophische Einfühlung in das Weltganze erscheint als die Grundlage einer unerhörten Steigerung der menschlichen Persönlichkeit zur Gottesverwandtschaft, zur Weltherrschaft, zum Übermenschentum", expresses the result of Neo-Platonic study and investigation. Furthermore, Petsch adds: "Wissenschaft und Wirkungsdrang, intellektuelles und hedonistisches Bedürfniss gehen Hand in Hand bei diesen faustischen Naturen,

1. Petsch: Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, Bd. II,
Der historische Dr. Faust, S. 99 ff.

Petsch: Germanisch - Romanische Monatsschrift, Bd. III,
Die Entstehung des Volksbuches von Dr. Faust, S. 207 ff.

nur etwas verschiedener Mischung der Elemente." Opposition was bound to arise against this extreme, which was leading to such wild fanaticism.

Wandering scholars knew little or nothing of the secrets of Neo-Platonism, yet they wormed themselves into the confidence of the superstitious peasants. Stories of such men were collected. They gradually gathered around the personality of Faust. They were later worked into the Historia, to serve as a warning example to people of like nature.

In his investigation of sources, Petsch comes to the conclusion that the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, discovered by Milchsack in 1892, and the text of the Faustbuch edited by Spiess in 1587, both go back to a common source, which, in turn, points to a Latin original. The proof of this lies in the fact that there are so many German-Latin turns of expression (in einem vierigen Wegschied = in qua drivio, for example) and constructions (Faust, als er, etc.). Then, too, the preface of the 1587 book promises later to publish "das lateinisch Exemplar". The author of the Latin original simply wished to show in Faust a warning example of the frivolous, wonder seeking, studious youth. He centered Faust's experiences at Wittenberg and placed him in the period before the Reformation. Other purposes, tendencies and warnings were added to the story according as conditions, social, political and religious, changed.

(m) Wolff.¹

Wolff sees in the Faustbuch a tendency, which bespeaks a Catholic origin. He thinks that it is a parody on Luther, for bitter battles were thus waged during the Reformation. Take as an example, "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum".

Erich Schmidt did not know the Wolfenbüttel manuscript and it is he who emphasizes the Lutheran spirit of the Faustbuch. Wolff takes a great deal of space to review the theories of other commentators, but leaves his own pretty much in the dark. As evidence of a Catholic tendency, he points out such as the following: certain events take place during the "Fastenzeit", Faust in his journey visited Catholic cities. Can the thoughtlessness of the author account for these facts? The description of heaven and hell is based on Catholic conceptions. The one-sided epicurean conception of the Renaissance, represented in the Faustbuch, is in the highest degree non-Lutheran. Lastly, the attempted conversion of Faust shows the Catholic ideas of repentance.

The fact that the scene of Faust's activities is Wittenberg leads Wolff to believe that this is a tendency not only to parody Wittenberg, but Luther as well. What does the sending of a comet over Luther's birthplace by Faust mean, too? Faust, just as Luther, had struggles with his own conscience. Luther, too, died in Wittenberg, and also feasted and drank with his comrades the night before. Is all this pure accident? Luther also left a biography which he did not want published till after his death. Luther's "Tischreden" and songs form an inexhaustible source for Catholic parody. Some of Luther's verses, slightly changed, are those of Mephistopheles in the Volksbuch. Luther's remarks on astronomy may be compared with Faust's, too. At any rate, Wolff claims, Luther's Tischreden were used in the compilation of the Faustbuch. The Faustbuch was originally composed in Latin. The custom was widespread in the sixteenth century

1. Wolff: Faust and Luther, 1912.

to give out popular writings in parallel Latin and German texts. Wolff believes that a certain Catholic, Johann Nas, may have had a hand in the compilation of the Faustbuch, but he offers no proof for his supposition.

(n) Summary.

Johann George Neumann, 1683, is the first to deserve the name of a Faust scholar. By means of the accounts of contemporaries of Faust, he has shown where, when and how the hero of the Volksbuch really lived. Duntzer, 1847, the first of modern investigators of this problem, sees in the Faustsaga simply a collection of sagas to be explained by their comparison with other "Zaubersagen". Oskar Schade, 1856, claims the saga expressly as a Protestant production. Catholicism has no part in it. Were it Catholic the Holy Virgin would not have let the poor sinner go to damnation. Hermann Grimm, 1882, claims that the structure has nothing to do with either Catholicism or Protestantism. He thinks the Manichaeian Faust the prototype of the Faust of the Volksbuch and claims Augustine's "Confessions" as a possible source. He also points out Faustus Andrelinus, a friend of Erasmus, as supplying the Faust of the Volksbuch with some of his characteristics. Erich Schmidt, 1883 and 1886, in a description of the mediaeval "Weltanschauung" of the Renaissance and Reformation, attempts to gain an understanding of the cultural-historical conditions under which the Faustsaga grew up. Without the background of Protestantism, the Faust of the sixteenth century is not to be understood. "Aus der Befreiung des Forscherdranges durch die geistigen Grossmächte der Zeit gehe gesteigert die symbolische Gestalt des Forschertitanen Faust hervor." He also cites points of similarity and contrast between Faust and Luther, and calls them two opposite representatives of their century. Scherer, 1884, follows in Schmidt's footsteps. He stresses the contrast between Faust and Luther. Ellinger, 1886, points out as possible sources for the Faustbuch Sebastian Frank's "Weltbuch", Munster's "Mappa Europae" and Matthias Quad's "Handbuch". Szatol'ski, 1888, points out as another source Meister's

Elucidarius. Milchaach, 1892, following Ellinger cites as a direct source Hartmann Schedel's "Buch der Chroniken", and as indirect sources "Belial", "Cordiale de quatuor novissimis", and more important, Ludovicus Milichius's "Zauberteufel". Zarncke, 1896, worked on the biography of Faust. As to sources, purposes, etc. of the Faustbuch he adds nothing. Simrock, 1903, considers the Faust stories inventions of the monks, who were seeking revenge on the inventor of printing for taking their business away from them. Witkowski, 1908, further develops the ideas of Erich Schmidt, and brings forward additional ones, which followed up, may lead to some definite result. Petsch, 1910 and 1911, advances the theory that back of the edition of 1587 and the older Wolfenbüttel manuscript is a Latin version of the Faustbuch. Wolff, 1912, asserts that the spirit of the Faustbuch is Catholic and that it is a parody on Luther.

Owing to the impossibility of obtaining books on account of the war, I shall have to close this section of my thesis, Undoubtedly there has been something important accomplished by Faust scholars during these last few years. Besides the men, whose theories I have reviewed, there have been scores of earlier and contemporary Faust scholars, more or less important, but lack of time and the fact that this only a Master's dissertation prevents me from discussing their theories, also.

NEO-PLATONISM AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE FAUSTBUCH.

The object of this section of my thesis is to show, if possible, how far Neo-Platonic philosophy at its revival in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with its magical-mystical trend of thought, influenced the prominent men of the century and the doctrine of the church, and how after the danger of such a philosophy was seen, there was a reaction against it, especially in the church. Of this reaction the Faustbuch may have been a result.

(a) Definition and History of Neo-Platonism.

The term Neo-Platonism is itself exceedingly hard to define. In fact, the name is deceiving, for this philosophy contains more than Platonic ideas and theories. At any rate, briefly stated, Neo-Platonism is a system of philosophy of the early Christian era, in which the religious notions of the East were blended with the concepts and doctrines of the older Greek philosophers. It was the last violent flickering of the light of ancient philosophy, which immediately preceded its total extinction. The scientific form in which this philosophy was brought forward was drawn from the Greek systems, especially the Platonic. Neo-Platonism is a most remarkable representation of the union of Eastern and Greek thought. A further characteristic of Neo-Platonism is its

mysticism of extreme type. This, too, is of Oriental origin. A consequence of this exaggerated mysticism was that the superstitions of theurgy, magic and necromancy found their way into the system and were there firmly established and justified by scientific methods.

There were several important causes of the rise of this philosophy. Philosophical thought in the Hellenic world had proved itself inadequate for the task of moral and religious regeneration. Stoicism, Epicureanism, Eclecticism, and even Scepticism, had each been set the task of "making men happy" and each in turn had failed. Then came the thought that Plato's idealism and the religious forces of the Orient might well be united in one movement, which would give definiteness, homogeneity, and unity of purpose to all the efforts of the pagan world to rescue itself from impending ruin. On the other hand, the strength, and from the pagan point of view, the aggressiveness of Christianity began to be realized. It became necessary, in the intellectual world, to impress upon the Christians the fact that paganism was not yet entirely bankrupt. It was time that the growing prestige of Christianity be offset by a philosophy which, claiming the authority of Plato, whom the Christians revered, should not only retain the gods but make them an essential part of a philosophical system.

There were three schools of Neo-Platonic philosophy, the Alexandrian-Roman, the Athenian and the Syrian. Plotinus is the representative of the Alexandrian-Roman school. His "Enneads" is the primary and classical document of Neo-Platonism. His doctrine is mysticism. Porphyry simply popularized the system of Plotinus. Iamblichos belongs to the Syrian school. His best work is known as "De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum". He introduced into Neo-Platonism a speculation in which mathematics and mysticism were mingled in a peculiar way. He attempted to find a philosophical basis for the belief in magic, in the power of theurgy, which then existed everywhere, even among the Christians. In his hands Neo-Platonism became a sort of spiritualism. Proclus represents Athenian Neo-

Platonism. He marks a return to saner ideas. In 529 the Emperor Justinian closed the schools of Neo-Platonic philosophy, through anxiety for the Christian doctrine. The Neo-Platonists betook themselves to the Orient, especially to Persia. Centuries afterward Neo-Platonism was destined to exercise an influence on Christian thought more powerful than Justinian had ever dreamed.

The rising church now had to have a doctrine. It was natural that the church fathers should look to philosophy for a basis for the formation of dogma. Therefore, they had to lean on that philosophy which had come nearest, as far as content was concerned, to Christian ideas. This was Neo-Platonism. How far the revival of Neo-Platonism in the sixteenth century influenced the Lutheran doctrine, I shall discuss in due course of time. Something of the influence of Neo-Platonic philosophy on the early church fathers, notably Saint Augustine, may be seen in his "Confessions", and in his "De Civitate Dei", where he defines and really makes a distinction between the two kinds of magic, a knowledge of which he has gained from his study of Iamblichos. And with Saint Augustine the activity of the church in forming doctrines ceased. What, then, is more natural than that Neo-Platonic philosophy should be imbedded in the doctrine of the Christian church from almost the very beginning of the church? The early churchmen were pagan in head and Christian in heart, that is, their method of reasoning was pagan, and the process of transformation was not to take place at a bound. In fact, how little do we to-day suspect the elements of pagan ideas still lurking in our Christian religion!

With the Renaissance we have a revival of Neo-Platonism, and it is with the Neo-Platonism of these centuries that we are particularly concerned - Neo-Platonism versus rationalistic dogmatism. Mediaeval magic, astrology and alchemy are all the outgrowth of Neo-Platonism. It gave the first effectual stimulus to the observation of nature and consequently to natural science, and in this way finally extinguished barren rationalism.

(b) Magic as a Branch of Neo-Platonism.

And it is opposition in the church to this mediaeval belief in magic which is partly responsible for the Faustbuch of 1587. But the opposition failed to accomplish its purpose. The author of the Faustbuch evidently does not take into consideration or is totally ignorant of the fact that there are two distinct kinds of magic. He regards all magic as the black art.

Perhaps it might be well to try to discover just what magic is. It is hard to give a proper definition of magic, since it depends largely on the view taken of religion. Among the ancient Greeks "magia" occupied a respectable position. It is impossible to draw a line of demarkation between magic and religion. Magic is a concomitant element of the religions of many peoples. Religion, to some extent, originated from magic and superstitions. In this connection it is very interesting to note that the Catholic Encyclopaedia takes an entirely different standpoint regarding magic. It is quite natural that they should interpret magic from their strict orthodox point of view and should deny its connection with religion. According to the Catholic Encyclopaedia, "magic is a corruption of religion, not a preliminary stage of it, as rationalists maintain, and it appears as an accompaniment of decadent rather than of a rising civilization. it is not true that religion is the despair of magic; in reality, magic is but a disease of religion." What would one say about the belief in magic prevalent during the Renaissance? Was the Renaissance a period of decadent civilization? And was the civilization of the ancient Greeks anything to be despised?

As regards the origin of magic, primitive man started with certain means at his disposal - the law of sympathy - by which he could, in his own belief, influence the outer world. Between what is definitely religious and what is definitely magical lies a mass of indeterminate elements, known as "white magic" which do not attain to the public recognition of religion nor do they suffer the condemnation meted out to the indisputably magical, known as "black magic".

"Auf dem Gegensatze zwischen satanisch bösen oder guten und gottgemässen Hilfskräften, deren sich die Magier bedienen kann, beruht der Unterschied zwischen schwarzer und weisser Magie."¹

Sciences have developed from non-scientific beginnings - astronomy from astrology, chemistry from alchemy. The dynamical theory of magic and religion brings primitive man much nearer to the modern man of science than was previously suspected. In the middle ages these respectable branches of magic, such as astrology and alchemy, included much of the real science of the period; the rise of Christianity introduced a new element since the Church regarded all religions of the heathens as dealing with magic.

"Black magic" or "magia diabolica", in the age of Humanism and the Reformation was the application and practise of those occult sciences, by which wicked spirits were conjured up, or an alliance with the devil was made, to produce supernatural results. Many innocent scholars were made to suffer under the belief that they shared in the satanic black art. "White magic" or "magia naturalis" is the art of producing miracles, of which persons, with the help of good spirit and through the strength of the human soul, were said to be capable. Strange to say, most of the writers on magic were men within the church, who, although they outwardly fought magic, show distinct traces of their inherent belief in it, especially in the so-called "magia naturalis". Luther himself reluctantly gave his sanction to it.

Saint Augustine, as early as the fourth century, in his "De Civitate Dei", L. XXI, C. 4-5, discusses the kinds of natural magic or natural phenomena, which God has wrought, and which have become so common to us that we no longer wonder at them, until one or another is sharply brought to our attention. Man cannot

1. Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche: Magier, Magie.

explain the plan of these things - they are divine. If we say that such miracles are not to be believed, then we are weakening the Holy Scriptures. If we say that they are to be believed, then we are strengthening the divinities of the pagans. Augustine nearly sixteen centuries ago was baffled by a question, which still puzzles modern Biblical critics. Chapter 6, headed "Quod non omnia miracula naturalia sint, sed pleraque humano ingenio modificata, pleraque autem daemonum arte composita" deals with "magia diabolica". Speaking of the inextinguishable lamp of Venus, he says: "Aut ergo in lucerna illa mechanicum aliquid de lapide asbesto ars humana molita est aut arte magica factum est, quod homines illo mirarentur in templo, aut daemon quispiam sub nomine Veneris tanta se efficacia praesentavit, ut hoc ibi prodigium et appareret hominibus et diutius permaneret. Inlicuntur autem daemones ad inhabitandum per creaturas..... Ut autem inliciantur ab hominibus, prius eos ipsi astutissima calliditate seducunt, vel inspirando eorum cordibus virus occultum vel etiam fallacibus amicitiiis apparendo, eorumque paucos discipulos suos faciunt plurimorumque doctores..... unde magicae artes earumque artifices extiterunt..... Sunt ergo facta eorum plurima, quae quanto magis mirabilia confitemur, tanto cautius vitare debemus..... Si enim haec immundi daemones possunt, quanto potentiores sunt sancti angeli, quanto potentior his omnibus Deus, qui tantorum miraculorum effectores etiam ipsos angelos fecit!" Thus we see that Augustine undoubtedly believed in both kinds of magic, and he knew how to distinguish them. As far as is known, he is the first man of prominence to draw such a distinction. His influence is seen on much of the literature of the middle ages, which deals with magic.

Benedictus Aretius, 1505-1574, a professor of theology at Berne, gives a discussion of "magia naturalis" and "magia diabolica", which is worth quoting verbatim. It shows how closely "magia naturalis" is interwoven with Biblical characters and what an influence it must have exercised on the church. Aretius's principal work is "Problemata Theologica, loci communes christianae religionis,

brevi methodo explicati, Bernae 1573." His interesting chapter on "De Magia" is as follows: "Ex his quae diximus duo genera magiae constitui possunt. Unum naturale et antiquum: alterum novum et infame. Antiqua et naturalis magia est, naturae rerum solida quaedam cognitio, ex qua idonea causarum applicatione interdum mirandos effectus constituunt. Natura enim rerum multa habet possibilia, si idoneus accesserit artifex, qui causas sciat conciliare. Deinde inest multis rebus singularis quaedam Sympathia, quam qui observant, mirabilia efficere putantur: qualis est in magnete vis attrahendi ferrum, in succino attrahendi paleas. Similiter inest rebus quoddam naturale odium, ut magneti cum allio, adamanti cum hircino sanguine, succino cum oleo. In his si quis solertissimus fuerit, non immerito aliis magus videbitur, cum solum naturas eorum proferat. Talis quidem Daniel visus est ethnicis et profanis hominibus, talis Joseph, Salomon naturae peritissimus, Moses in primis qui miraculis clariut, verum supernaturalibus: talis fuit Plato aliique. Pertinent huc industrii artifices, qui opera insolita confecere ad miraculum usque, qualis fuit Archimedis machina, qua solus navem onerariam in mare exposuit, tales columba lignea Architae volitans..... Talis magi fuere qui Christum inviserunt..... Nova et infamis magia est, quae malorum spirituum consortio utitur: hanc ortam dicunt a Simone mago: cum tamen longe fuerit antiquior. Aegyptiorum magia ex hac multa habuit. Praeterea a Mose est prohibita, extitisse igitur illius cultores necessum est. Illustrem igitur reddidit Simon ille, quemadmodum Carpocrates postea, qui non dubitavit illam publice docere. Hodie qui illo male occupantur communi nomine dicuntur Nigromantici corrupta voce, quasi diceret Necromanticos divinatores ex mortuis. Olim rarum hoc studium, sub Christianismo vero tandem adeo invaluit, ut sacerdotes et clerici non satis exculi literis viderentur, nisi in hac damnata professione laudem haberent: sed et Pontifices hac arte sedem foedarunt. Si enim Platinae et aliis credimus, bona pars magicis artibus pontificarum assecuta est: legantur illorum vitae

Sylvestri secundi, qui caput aeneum habuit quod consuluit, Benedicti octavi, Gregorii septimi, Joannis 20. et 21., Alexandri sexti, et aliorum."¹ Then Aretius goes into a lengthy discussion of the various kinds of "magia diabolica".

(c) Philosophy and Magic.

It is my purpose now to discuss the relations of Renaissance philosophy, science and theology with magic, and to show just how far such beliefs influenced the men of that day. Then we are free to draw our own conclusions as to the reaction of such a movement, and as to the Faustbuch as a possible outgrowth of the reaction. Like most movements of the Renaissance the new philosophy took its origin in Italy. Pico von Mirandola is the representative in Italy of the philosophy which, in Germany, Reuchlin and later Melanchthon took up.

It was through Pico von Mirandola that the Christian world got its first knowledge of the Jewish Cabala. The Cabala purports to be a system of esoteric doctrines handed down by tradition. The Cabalists assume that behind the literal and obvious meaning of the Scriptures, there is concealed another and deeper meaning, in which is to be found the full truth. The Cabalists read hidden meaning into the Scriptures by means of an involved system of symbolical numbers. Pico claimed that magic and the Cabala contained the best teachings about the divinity of Christ. The goal of his life was "Frömmigkeit und Weisheit zu verschmelzen". He strove to find harmony in science. He called Plato a Greek speaking Moses. As in the Cabala, he distinguishes four worlds. Man is placed in the middle; he can appropriate everything for himself, the lower and the higher according to his will. In his body he unites the elements, the life of the plants as well as of the animals - "die vernünftige Seele hat er mit den Engeln, sie führt ihn zu Gott".² Thus we can experience the life of all things; love

1. Tille: Faustsplitter, Splitter 21.

2. Carrière, Moriz: Die philosophische Weltanschauung der Reformationzeit, S. 35.

shall lead us to union with God. Pico sees in nature the foundation of the ideal development of our being.

We saw that the Jewish Cabala had entered into Christian philosophy through Pico von Mirandola. The Cabalistic theories spread to Germany and gained adherents there, among whom was Reuchlin. His greatest service was the union of oriental and occidental philosophy and their union in turn with Christianity. In the Cabala men believed that they had found the means to oppress scholasticism. Magic, astrology and all kinds of secret arts were bound up with the Cabala. Reuchlin regarded the Cabala as the source of all true knowledge and he endeavoured to explain Pythagorean philosophy out of it. "De Arte Cabalistica" is his most important work. In this he has a Jew develop the Cabalistic ideas and then trace the Pythagorean teachings back to the Cabala. The Cabala rests, according to Reuchlin, on divine revelation. Through it one attains to a knowledge not to be gained from the human sciences. De Arte Cabalistica I, 15 - "Cabbalistae illam legis expositionem sequuntur, quae per quaedam symbola mentis elevationem ad superos et ad rem divinam quam maxime propellit" - distinctly shows Reuchlin's philosophy. We must, according to Reuchlin, distinguish three worlds: "die niedere (sinnliche), die höhere (intelligible) und die höchste (göttliche) Welt". Each world is ruled by the one next above it; each lower world is the image of the one next higher. These worlds are in direct communication with each other. Man stands on the border between the lower and the higher world. Because, through the spirit, he can communicate with the higher and the highest worlds, he is in a position to aspire to a higher union with God. This is Cabalistic mysticism.

The Cabala, Reuchlin claims, does not let us creep on the ground of the lower world, it draws us up to company with God and the angels. Whoever gives himself up to Cabalistic study and practice ascends to a clearer view of God and the higher world. He cannot go farther than viewing the soul of the Messiah

on the usual road. "Aber es gibt noch einen andern Weg, der Weg der Verzü^{ck}ung, der Estase, und wenn der Cabalist diesen Weg betritt, dann kann er wohl hienieden schon über die Seele des Messias sich erheben und zur unmittelbaren Anschauung des gö^{tt}lichen Wesens gelangen."¹ Compare De Arte Cabbalistica - "Cabbala nos humi degere non sinit, sed mentem nostram extollit ad altissimae comprehensionis metam, quae tamen nequeat animam Messiae rationabiliter transcendere, nisi quodam incomprehensibili intuitu, quasi via momentanei raptus, quo putamus haud impossibile Cabbalistis nobis in spiritu prope tertium mundum corripⁱ, ubi est Messias omnibus inferioribus influens." "Je mehr aber der Cabbalist auf dem Wege der Schauung in die Tiefen der höh^{er}n Welt sich versenkt, desto mehr bekommt er in Folge der Freundschaft mit den Himmlischen Gewalt über die Natur und vermag dann vermö^{ge} dieser Macht wunderbare Wirkungen hervorzubringen, welche das Volk anstaunt. Der Cabbalist ist zugleich auch Wunderthä^{ter}. Es ist besonders der Name Jesus, wodurch er Wunderbares zu leisten vermag. Die notwendige Bedingung dazu ist ein starker, unerschütterlicher Glaube. Nicht als ob der Cabalist allein für sich diese Wunder thäte; aber Gott wirkt sie durch ihn in Kraft jenes wunderthätigen Namens." The last and highest goal of the Cabala is the transformation of the spirit into God - the deification. "Da geht der äussere in den innern Sinn, der innere Sinn in die Einbildungskraft, die Einbildungskraft in die Urteilkraft, diese in die Vernunft, die Vernunft in den Verstand, der Verstand in den Geist und dieser in Gott über. In dieser Schauung wird der Mensch vergottet."² It is a dangerous undertaking to mix Cabalistic and Christian teachings and to try to build up a Christian theology from the elements of the Cabala. It cannot be other than a disadvantage to Christian theology, yes, even to Christian beliefs.

1. Stöckl: Geschichte der Philosophie, Vol. III, S. 410.

2. Stöckl: Geschichte der Philosophie, Vol. III, S. 411.

Melanchthon was a pupil of Reuchlin. He saw the pitfalls into which Reuchlin's philosophy was leading. He felt the necessity of building up a system of philosophy in which religious dogma and philosophic teachings would be reconciled. His teachings, though, are only compilations from other philosophers, especially from Aristotle. In his writings he quietly substituted Christian ideas for pagan, wherever such occurred.

(d) Science and Magic.

As the chief representatives of the science of the Renaissance stand Agrippa von Nettesheim and Paracelsus. Deussen gives a remarkable characterization of the "Naturforschung" of his period which will bear repetition: "Die Kenntnis der Natur führt zur Herrschaft über die Natur; beide aber haben, wie wir wissen, ihre Schranken, und diese Schranken zu verkennen, war in der Zeit der neu aufkommenden Naturforschung ein für viele Erscheinungen dieser Zeit bezeichnendes Merkmal. Man glaubte, alle Geheimnisse der Natur zu durchdringen, alle ihre Kräfte in den Dienst der Menschen zwingen zu können, und hieraus entsprang ein trübes Gemisch von Wissenschaft und Aberglauben, von echter Naturerkenntnis und phantastischer Erweiterung derselben durch theologische, neuplatonische und kabbalistische Spekulationen. Neben der Chemie, welche bestrebt war, die Stoffe der Natur zu erkennen und zu analysieren, stand der Alchemie mit ihrem Suchen nach dem Stein der Weisen, durch den es unter anderm möglich sein sollte, jeden Stoff und so namentlich das Gold in seine vermeintlichen Bestandteile zu zerlegen, um es dann aus diesen in beliebigen Mengen gewinnen zu können; zu der Astronomie, welche die Gestirne und die Gesteze ihres Umlaufes zu erforschen suchte, gesellte sich die Astrologie, welche aus dem Stande der Planeten das Schicksal der Menschen herauslesen zu können wähnte, und die zunehmende Kenntnis der Naturkräfte und ihrer Verwertung für das menschliche Leben verband sich mit der Wahnvorstellung von Naturgeistern, welche man durch magische Künste sich dienstbar

machen zu können glaubte."¹

Christoph Sigwart in a short essay on Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim gives a description of the age of the Renaissance, which for simplicity, clearness of thought and interest cannot be equalled: "Whoever sets out to follow the universal thoughts, which work in history, whoever investigates the convictions about the way to a knowledge of truth, which gives its direction to the belief of the individual as well as to scientific effort, whoever seeks the ideals after which life is modelled, his eyes will involuntarily again and again be led back to that agitated time, in which the Middle Ages broke down and the foundations were laid upon which we are still building to-day. We always find the truth of Hutten's words: "Die Geister wachen auf, die Wissenschaften blühen, es ist eine Lust zu leben". In the middle of the scene stands Luther, and the battle which he began in the name of the German conscience against a secularized church and against an external form of worship; our glance falls on those who have preceded him, who brought to light Greek and Roman antiquity, those who revered the beauty of classical poetry, the pure thought of Greek philosophy. We cannot forget that Dr. Faust is the contemporary of these men and that this man in his original form embodies a "Geistesrichtung", from whose powerful charm one of like character cannot be drawn away. The saga preferably sticks to the strange cloud, which surrounds the magician, and to the terrible alliance with the devil; but it recognizes the noble and high striving which leads to this alliance. It was the voice of the best in that time, which Goethe's Faust presents in the opening words. "There I stand, poor fool, and am as wise as before" - so speak the self-confessions of more than one man, who has studied philosophy, jurisprudence, medicine and theology. And therewith awakens the longing for a

1. Deussen: Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, Das Naturwissenschaft im Zeitalter der Renaissance, S. 470 ff.

richer and better insight, for a deeper knowledge, for a science which consists not only of words, but which embraces the true nature of the world, the whole interdependence of heaven and earth..... Astrology spreads, alchemy ascends, and one has the courage, in spite of the suspicion of heresy, to read all the books which treat of the wonderful natural phenomena, of conjuration and the means of incantation; they hope to find in this forbidden fruit a true knowledge of the secrets of nature. Spirits dissatisfied with theological dogma now turned to magic. We think, as a rule, only of the horrible outgrowth of this magic, the terrible persecution of witches, or of the deceptions practiced by the magician and the alchemist, and we overlook the deeper and justifiable tendency, and the merit of this impulse which led to magic, for it assisted in freeing the mind, and the background on which it then rested stands in much nearer relation to modern times than it seems at first glance. The study of magic led to a mystical theology."¹

Agrippa von Nettesheim differs from Reuchlin in that he directed his attention to the more practical side of magic, and it is for this reason that I have classed him among the scientists rather than philosophers, although he is both a scientist and a philosopher. He believes that he can find in magic the highest for which the human spirit can strive and attain. He tries to make us acquainted with all the means through which the "Magus" can bring about his wonderful results.

His best known work is "De occulta Philosophia". It is the storehouse of all the ideas and prejudices which prevailed during his time. In the whole of the universe one must distinguish three worlds: the elemental, the heavenly and the intellectual. The elemental world embraces all those things which are formed from the four elements; the heavenly world is the world of the stars; and the

1. Sigwart: Kleine Schriften - zur Geschichte der Philosophie, S. 1ff.

intellectual world embraces the angels. The higher world constantly exercises a living influence upon the world next next lower and the lower world draws down the influence from the higher. A common sympathy penetrates everything. The whole universe is animated by a common "Weltseele". The "Weltgeist" or the "quinta essentia" is not created from the four elements, but is the means by which the "Weltseele" is united with the universe. Man forms the middle point of the three worlds.

These theories, however, only serve as the basis for Agrippa's magic. His magic rests upon the assumption that, on account of this interrelation of the three worlds, the spirit can strive to recognize the powers which are concealed in things, and after the spirit has recognized them, then it can use them to bring down to its own service the higher powers and can thus accomplish miracles. Compare *De occulta Philosophia* I, 1 - "Cum triplex mundus, elementalis, coelestis et intellectualis et quisque inferior a superiori regatur, ac suarum virium suscipiat influxum, ita ut ipse archetypus et summus opifex per angelos, coelos, stellas, elementa, animalia, plantas, metalla, lapides, suae omnipotentiae virtutes exinde in nos transfundat, in quorum ministerium haec omnia condidit atque creavit: non irrationabile putat Magi, nos per eosdem gradus, per singulos mundos, ad eundem ipsum archetypum mundum, omnium opificem, et primam causam, a qua sunt omnia et procedunt omnia, posse conscendere: et non solum his viribus, quae in rebus nobilioribus praeexistunt, frui posse, sed alias praeterea novas desuper posse attrahere. Hinc elementalis mundi vires, variis rerum naturalium mixtionibus a medicina, et naturali philosophia venantur: deinde coelestis, mundi radiis et influxibus, juxta astrologorum regulas, et mathematicorum disciplinas, coelestes virtutes illis connectunt: porro haec omnia intelligentiarum diversarum potestatibus per religionum sacras ceremonias corroborant atque confirmant."

Magic is the highest and most complete of all the sciences, the most sublime philosophy, the perfection of the noblest wisdom, which the deepest knowledge of

secret things and of all nature embraces and which teaches how all substances are either like or unlike each other, how man must unite them in order to make them effective. Compare De occulta Philosophia I, 2 - Magica facultas potestatis plurimae compos, altissimis plenamysteriis, profundissiman rerum secretissimarum contemplationem, naturam, potentiam, qualitatem, substantiam, et virtutem, totiusque naturae cognitionem complectitur: et quomodo res inter se differunt, et quomodo conveniunt, nos instruit: hinc mirabiles effectus suos produces, uniendo virtutes rerum per applicationem earum ad invicem, et ad sua passa congruentia inferiora, superiorum dotibus ac virtutibus passim copulans atque paritans. Haec perfectissima summaque scientia, haec altior sanctiorque philosophia haec denique totius nobilissimae philosophiae absoluta consummatio..... Theologia autem ... instruit quoque de fide, de miraculis, de virtute verborum, et figurarum, arcanis operationibus et mysteriis signaculorum..... Hae tres imperiosissimas facultates. Magia ipsa complectitur atque unit....."

Just as one must distinguish a threefold world, so must he distinguish a threefold magic: the natural, the sidereal and the religious. The first teaches us in what way earthly things must be used in order to bring about wonderful results; the second takes up mathematical-astronomical formulae in order to effect miracles through the influence of the stars; the third teaches how to conjure up good spirits or demons. The magician must know physics, mathematics and theology, and in order to practice the magic art, he must always have a firm belief. He must not doubt, he must have a strong power of imagination, in order to produce miracles in the strength of his religious faith.

Is it any wonder that, when such a philosophy fell to pieces, everything standing threatened to go to destruction, too? In "De Vanitate et Incertitudine Scientiarum" Agrippa attempts to prove the uselessness of all sciences. He comes to the conclusion that everything depends on divine revelation. He says that all sciences have their origin in the tempting words of the serpent. "Eritis sicut

dii, scientes bonum et malum." Where sciences, where the ancient languages have been studied, there Christianity falls and heresy raises itself anew. How nearly true is his statement as proved by succeeding generations of history!

Paracelsus gave attempts along the alchemical line a new turn. He can be called the Luther of medicine. He united Neo-Platonic philosophy, astrology and magic with medicine. He believes in the threefold division of the universe, as does Agrippa. To him the whole world seems like a multiplicity of chemical processes and transformations, which are influenced by the stars and in which everything has an effect on everything else. In the Bible and the Cabala he saw the key to all secrets. It is God alone who reveals to us everything in nature, who kindles the inner light in us and lends us the Holy spirit, which leads to all truth and wisdom. What is philosophy but invisible nature? Philosophy is the living mirror in which the world sees its own reflection.

Paracelsus knew the power of phantasy. He expressly says that before the world is destroyed, many arts, which people formerly ascribed to the devil or to the demons, will become evident, and then one will see that they depend on natural forces. If God performs a miracle, he performs it through humanity, that is, in a natural not supernatural manner. The physician must be cabalist, astrologer and alchemist according to Paracelsus. "Dem göttlichen Einflusse muss sich der Arzt erschliessen, weil er nur aus Gott Alles recht verstehen kann; der Astrologie muss er kundig sein, weil Alles in der untern Weltsphäre unter dem Einfluss der Gestirne steht, und insbesondere wohl die Hälfte der Krankheiten aus diesem Einflusse entspringt; die Alchemie muss er verstehen, um die Quintessenz aus den Dingen ziehen und sie zu Heilmitteln verwenden zu können. Dazu kommt nun aber auch noch die Magie. Die Magie ist die Kunst, durch unerkannte, geheime Kräfte, besonders aber durch unmittelbare Einwirkung des Geistes eines Menschen auf andere menschliche oder Naturgeister, mittelst der höchsten Macht und Stärke des Glaubens und der Imagination, andernfalls unmögliche

Dinge in wohlthätiger oder in schädlicher Absicht zu vollbringen. Liegt eine wohlthätige Absicht zu Grunde, so haben wir die Magie in engern Sinne, liegt dagegen eine schädliche Absicht zu Grunde, so haben wir die Zauberei oder Hexerei."¹ The Magus can make people sick and well, and therefore it is of the greatest importance for the physician to be acquainted with the magic arts. Paracelsus could not free himself from Cabalistic superstitions. It would have been better for him had he not wanted to construct nature according to Cabalistic ideas.

(e) Theology and Magic.

"Die Religion ist das gottinnige Leben der Liebe; in ihr vollendet sich das Sein, darum geht alles höhere Streben von ihr aus und zu ihr hin."¹

It seems that nothing, not even the theology of the Reformation, was able to shake itself free from the influence of the Cabala and magic. The Cabala was innerly hostile to Catholic Christendom. Although it seems strange at first thought, yet we need not wonder that those who broke away from the old church, went straight in this direction and used Cabalistic ideas for the building up of their new dogmatic system. There is no originality in this dogmatic system, it simply reflects the Cabalistic tendency of the century crystallized into dogmatic form. This statement sounds extreme, I know, but the finding of it goes a long way toward solving my problem as to the influence of magic on the church.

Luther, of course, is the all important theologian of the Reformation. He regards philosophy and theology as directly contradictory to each other, just as are reason and revelation. Let us first look at Luther's teaching concerning the spirit and the flesh. He says that there are two diametrically opposed elements

1. Stöckl: Geschichte der Philosophie, Vol. III, S. 451.

2. Carrière: Die philosophische Weltanschauung der Reformationszeit, Einleitung, S. 1.

in us, the spirit and the flesh. The one tends toward evil, the other toward good. Suppose we compare this teaching with certain ideas which we find in Neo-Platonic and Cabalistic doctrines. "Alle Neuplatoniker und Cabbalisten unterschieden in der menschlichen Natur ein doppeltes Element, das göttliche und das natürliche, den Geist und die bloß empirisch vernünftige Natur."¹ Can we any longer doubt but that Luther's teaching is only a reproduction of Cabalistic and Neo-Platonic philosophy clothed in dogmatic form? Luther's system, looked at from a scientific point of view, shows the tendency of his time, and not content, only form differs from the philosophical doctrines of that period.

Now let us look at his teaching about justification. Christian justification is passive, it is the work of God. Again we see how Luther is connected with his predecessors. The teaching of the Cabala is the same. His whole teaching of justification is only the reproduction of Cabalistic-mystic ideas and cannot have the slightest claim to originality. As a third example, we have his teaching about the rebirth of man. The image of God which was rooted in the spirit and almost blotted out through sin, is reborn in man through God. This, too, has its foundation in the Cabalistic tendency of the time. The whole salvation of man consists in the divine spark sinking into man, and the inner man in the outer man being awakened again. As a fourth point, we meet that opposition between reason and faith, between philosophy and theology. Luther said that the great sin of the Sophists was that they paid attention to the judgment of reason and did not kill this enemy of God. And with their application of philosophy to theology, they have destroyed everything. One shall kill his own reason, put out the eye of his own spirit, in order to be able to believe. Should man do this he would be plunged into eternal doubt and despair. Here again, Luther stood in the

1. Stöckl: Geschichte der Philosophie, Vol. III, S. 490.

tendency of his time: "Wiederholt ist uns ja schon bei den neuplatonischen und cabbalistischen Theosophen der Gedanke begegnet, dass die Vernunft mit ihrem syllogistischen Verfahren blos dem niedern, natürliehen Menschen angehöre, dass sie deshalb nicht in die Erkenntniss des Göttlichen sich einmischen dürfe, dass ihre Grundsätze mit denen des Geistes im Widerspruch stehe, und dass deshalb eine Theologie, welche philosophische Momente aus der Vernunft in sich aufnimmt eine ganz verfehlte und irrthümliche sei."¹

Thus there are two absolute opposites in the nature of man: the spirit and the flesh, the inner and the outer man, belief and reason. All this is a dualistic-pantheism which goes back to the Cabala.

(f) Conclusions.

The junction of the middle ages and the modern era is the great "Sturm und Drang" period of humanity. The spirit of personal freedom was awakened. Luther was the man in whom the tendencies of those times were united. The people felt like a single organism. They had found in the Faustsaga a symbol of their striving. How individual freedom of man and God's universal order, how sensual happiness and peace of mind, how fact and knowledge, were to be united: that was the great problem, the solution of which was only to be reached by a break with convention. This appeared as sin. Goethe was the first who was able to represent it as the way of salvation. The immeasurable desire for knowledge, pleasure in the things of this world, self-estimation, these were at hand. Whether they would lead to salvation, whether the return to God was possible, this was the question to which the Volksbuch dared not give answer. The people reflected the tendency of the time - they turned from formal scholasticism to nature.²

1. Stöckl: Geschichte der Philosophie, Vol. III, S. 515.

2. Carrière: Die Weltanschauung der Reformationszeit, Einleitung, S. 1 ff.

The investigators of the Faust problem seem to be divided into certain well defined groups. Düntzer and Grimm make no mention of there being either Protestant or Catholic tendencies in the Faustbuch. Then follow several men, Schade, Schmidt, Scherer, and Zarncke, who put strong emphasis on the Lutheran spirit of the book. As a third group stand Ellinger, Szamatólski and Milchsack, who point to sources in the common literature of the sixteenth century and earlier, without emphasis on religious tendencies of any kind. Simrock stands alone, in that he believes that the Faust stories are the invention of monks who were seeking revenge on the inventor of printing for taking their business away from them. Wolff is the advocate of the Catholic origin of the Faustbuch. There may be something in his ideas, though he does not convince us just what it is. Witkowski and Petsch both recognize the possibility of Neo-Platonic influence on the Faustbuch, but they do not seem especially interested in that side of the problem. Professor Julius Goebel, under whom this thesis was prepared, is probably the first to point to Neo-Platonism as being, to some degree, responsible for the Faustbuch. Petsch and Witkowski were undoubtedly both acquainted with Professor Goebel's ideas. As I have stated in my introduction, most of the investigators of the Faust problem take Goethe's Faust - that superhuman - and work back, instead of studying the political, social and religious conditions of the sixteenth century, and determining how the Faustbuch is an outgrowth of its own time.

There is an extremely interesting paragraph in Professor Calvin Thomas's recent book on Goethe which is as follows: "But there was his magic. The legend regarded that as utterly bad, but made him only a practitioner of the vulgar black art. The things that he does are silly. But Goethe had read of natural magic, "magia naturalis", which was a very different thing. Natural magic is conceived by its late-mediaeval votaries as the noblest of arts, the queen of the sciences, the perfect flowering of religion. Clearly, then, Faust's dabbling in

magic, though the legend looked on it with horror, did not of necessity stamp him as a bad man on the way to hell."¹ After reading this one can not help wondering just how far Professor Thomas has been influenced by Professor Goebel's ideas on "magia naturalis". At any rate, this acknowledgment of the influence of "magia naturalis" marks a change in the opinions of Professor Thomas, which is worth noting.

The author of the Faustbuch does not take into consideration the fact that there are two distinct kinds of magic. The introduction and especially the first chapter of the book prove this statement. According to Milchsack, the unknown author gained his knowledge of magic mostly from "Zauberteufel", and Ludovicus Milichius, the author of "Zauberteufel" considers all magic as evil. The introduction, written by Spiess, calls Faust a "Schwarzkünstler". This term is applicable only to a practitioner of the black art. Furthermore, "seine Teuffelischen Künste" suggests that Faust's magic originated with the devil. "Vorrede an den Christlichen Leser" contains numerous phrases, which go to prove the author's one-sided view of magic. "Onn allen zweiffel aber ist die Zauberey und Schwartzkünsterey die gröste und schwereste Sünde für Gott und für aller Welt" again shows that one-sided conception of magic. Then he cites several passages from the Scriptures which warn against magic. "Einen ander Zauberer... hat der Teufel lebendig hinweg in die Lufft geführet, Joannes Franciscus Picus." Anything out of the ordinary was considered magic, and when a person died who had accomplished something wonderful, the devil was said to have murdered him or carried him away. Thus we see that the "Vorrede" is full of allusions to "magia diabolica", but contains not a single word about "magia naturalis".

"Zu dem fand D. Faustus seines gleichen, die giengen mit Chaldeischen, Persischen, Arabischen und Griechischen Worten, figuris, characteribus,

1. Thomas, Calvin; Goethe (1917), p. 330.

coniurationibus, incantationibus, und wie solche Namen der Beschwerung und Zauberey mögen genennt werden..... Item, Niemand kan zweyen Herren dienen." This passage, quoted from the first chapter goes also to prove that the devil was the master of magic, according to the author of the Faustbuch. The fact that Faust was formerly a theologian who had fallen away from God only serves to intensify the author's warning against "magia" of any sort. He regards all striving, all aspirations for a higher knowledge as coming directly from the devil, since such superhuman knowledge can only be obtained with the assistance of evil spirits. The purpose of the Faustbuch, as the unknown author conceived it, was merely to show that the practice of magic, be it white or be it black, leads ultimately to destruction.

From the article on magic quoted from the Catholic Encyclopaedia, we see that the Catholic Church does not now recognize that a distinction between white and black magic ever existed. To the Catholic Church all is the black art. It is to be concluded from this that the Catholic Church did not tolerate Neo-Platonic philosophy. The Church saw in it only its evil effects and therefore fought it. But it is in keeping with the orthodox spirit of the Catholic Church to combat anything bordering on that mysticism which is Oriental in origin. On the other hand, Neo-Platonic philosophy had entered the Protestant Church through such men as Reuchlin and Melanchthon, and with it, of course, that belief in white and black magic. The presence of such a philosophy only afforded the Catholics another loophole through which to attack the Protestants. The author of the Faustbuch may have been one of those men who saw the dangerous ground on which the Protestant Church was treading, and who realized that if the Protestant Church clung to such a belief, it was harming itself and strengthening Catholicism. Thus the Faustbuch may have been an outgrowth of that desire on the part of such people to stem the tide of Neo-Platonic and Cabalistic ideas in the Protestant Church.

Investigation of the influence of Neo-Platonic philosophy on the origin of the Faustbuch has only just begun. The material is almost unlimited. One could profitably write a Doctor's dissertation on this subject, but the fact that this is only a Master's thesis prevents me from pursuing the subject further. Taking into consideration the little which I have accomplished, I am really not justified in drawing any specific conclusions. However, I think that I may say, with impunity, that Professor Goebel, who first brought forward this theory, is undoubtedly on the right "track". There is a great deal more in the theory than there seems at first thought.

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